was is plugged up sufficiently with a bunch of grass so that the ashes are not sucked in. The ordinary serpentine pipe, /ui!kx̃ōb, is used in the same way. One would take it for a cigar holder made from a European pattern, if the Hottentots smoked cigars. [Picture. a and b are bone tobacco pipes. c - e serpentine pipes of native design. f. a serpentine pipe of European design.] On the other hand the European cutty is obviously the model for the pipe form which they call !ha-bes. 324 276

3. One metal was treasured by the Hottentot before his contact with European culture, namely copper, which he probably got by barter from his Bantu neighbors to the north. With the disappearance of native jewelry and because it is easy to buy or steal all the needed metals from white people, copper has been mostly supplanted by iron and brass. The male [249] Hottentot cuts three kinds of jewelry either from iron, brass or copper, more rarely from lead depending on the material available. 325 ● 301 [439]

Women and girls wear bracelets and armrings, !ganuti, right above the wrist, sometimes ten pieces in all. I saw men wearing only one, if any, on the right wrist. [Picture. Bracelets. 4/5 natural size]. A single design is made by scratching, notching and hammering. The patterns, always on the outside, resemble those of our prehistoric times and are the only interesting thing about these ornaments. Neither the material nor the instruments used in making them are original with the Hottentots, but are borrowed from the white man's workshops.

[250] In the simplest form, the arm decoration is a plain ring-shaped rounded, open, undecorated iron wire, shaped like a D in cross section or square-edged and slightly rounded on the outside. Such a smooth undecorated iron band is depicted in figure a.[1] 325 301 54

The brass bracelet b is square-edged with tapering ends and is decorated with hammered or cut cross lines, which diverge from the middle of the band towards both sides. These lines are crossed by long irregular grooves, running near the edges and parallel to them. A copper bracelet (c) with rounded edges is primitively decorated with irregular thickset cuts across the band and grooves that run the length of it.

The square-edged brass band d has irregularly spaced notches along the edges and a clumsy unconnected line down the middle. These notches are cut so that they converge towards the middle line in better-grade work. Thus in the narrow iron band e, the notches are so deep

1 [For pictures of bracelets discussed in the text, see Cat. 116, p. 62(B). -Analyst]

[249]

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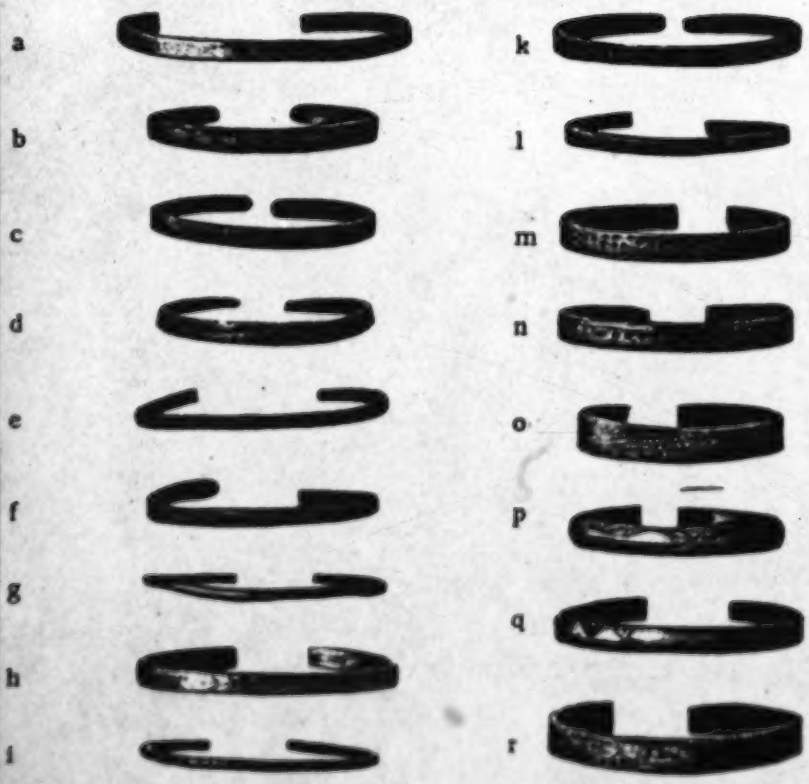

Bracelets. 4/5 natural size.

that the material has swelled up and created a raised design. The next iron band f has a "fishbone" pattern as I call it as an analogy to prehistoric ornamentation at the suggestion of my honored colleague Dr. Eichhorn. The pattern is regularly interrupted by small smooth spaces. We find this pattern again in primitive form in the thick, flat copper wire band g, in the iron band h, and finally, in its clearest and most regular form with divergeing angular lines towards the open ends, in the brass ring i. 301 325 531

The zigzag decoration is widely used, equally popular as a decoration for wooden dishes (burned in), on apron belts (woven in), and on serpentine pipes (scratched on). It is cut or hammered into the bracelets of the Hottentots. Sometimes it is a straight continuous line (k), sometimes a system of two or three lines which are not always connected. (1). The two square-edged bracelets with the zigzag ornamentation are made of brass.

I saw a pattern with dots only on brass (m) and copper (n) bracelets. The dots were arranged in rectangles, circles, or in rows of two or three, hammered into the material as if by a stamp.

The last kind of ornamentation to be mentioned are the cross-hatched or diamond shaped fields of various forms on bracelets. [251] A thin, square-edged, bandlike iron ring (o) has four fields shaped like parallelograms with checks made by vertical and horizontal lines. A metal band (p) that shines like gold, whose cross section is flat on one side and flat-roof shaped on the other, has two rows of triangles filled with notches, the base of the triangles runs along the outer edge and the apex touches the middle. One iron band (q) with its flat D - shaped cross section is reminiscent in a remarkable way of the "prehistoric triangular pattern" with its regular cross-hatching. The last of the arm rings (r) pictured here has an irregular combination of notches along the edge, long grooves and checked triangular fields.

Arm rings with hooks and eyes are occasionally made of spiral brass or iron wires wound around a wire axle.

There is no native designation for finger rings. Women sometimes wear as many as 15 on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of both hands. [Picture. Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size].

Earrings, !gamti, are popular with both sexes. The children's ear lobes are pierced by their mothers between the third and fourth years. The ear lobe is first kneaded between the fingers for some time and then pierced with a needle bent into a curved shape. The bleeding is stopped with hot ashes from the hearth fire. When the ears are 301 304

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●325
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Finger rings of copper, brass and iron. 9/10 natural size. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

which roots, coffee beans, *buchu* herbs, mineral substances, etc., are ground down with a flat stone.[1]

What renders it unlikely that the Hottentots ever were a stone age people is the fact that at the time when they came into contact with Europeans they already possessed the art of working in metal. The heads of their arrows and spears, their cutting instruments and other tools they fashioned from iron, while copper was worked into ornaments; and they were able to smelt the ore for themselves. The mode of smelting iron, according to Kolb, was as follows: A small mound of earth was heaped up, hollowed at the top, and a narrow channel dug vertically down the middle. A shallow basin was then made in the side of the mound, and connected by a hole to the vertical channel. Next a fire was lit in the hole at the top, and when the earth around it was thought well heated the ore was inserted. Then a large fire was made on top of the ore, and fed from time to time with additional fuel, until the iron melted and ran into the basin at the side. When cool it was taken out and broken up with hammers. It was finally beaten into shape, after heating, by means of stone hammers.[2]

How far this description can be relied upon is open to doubt. Kolb states that the same method of smelting was employed for copper ore, but in this, at least, he is contradicted by a more reliable authority. Roos and Marais describe the process as they witnessed it among the Naman. A crucible of clay containing the ore was placed on a fire made on a hearth of cowdung, about one foot in diameter and six inches high. Two bellows of goatskin with perforated *gemsbok horn nozzles* were inserted under the hearth, and by means of them the fire was kept glowing till the copper had melted. The liquid ore was then poured into finger-long moulds of cowdung, and in this way small copper bars of a standard shape made. These were beaten on a flat stone anvil with a stone hammer into rings and other objects.[3]

This method of smelting ore is common throughout Africa. The description is therefore probably more nearly accurate than that given by Kolb. It must also be noted, however, that it is about fifty years later in time, and refers to the Naman, who by then were already in close contact with the Bantu peoples. The possibility of borrowing therefore cannot be eliminated, especially as we are told that the

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 297-8; Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 22.
[2] Op. cit., 177-8.
[3] "Rapport van den Heere Rijk Tulbagh," 77.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

325 177 326 439 Great Namaqua tribes obtained most of their copper from the Little Namaqua to the south, and the BeChwana to the east. And Wikar states that the Naman preferred not to work their own metal, but hired Herero smiths to come and work iron and copper into beads for them, paying them an ewe as a daily wage.[1] Certainly in the eighteenth century the Naman only worked metal in very small quantities, obtaining almost all their iron and copper implements and ornaments by barter from the OvaHerero and BeChwana. Among the Cape Hottentots also the production of these metals was so limited even in the seventeenth century that the Dutch from the first did an active trade with them in copper and iron goods. Since then the ease with which European metal wares, superior in every way to those of native production, could be obtained, has caused the old native craft of smelting ore to disappear completely. At the present time the raw material, in the form of iron, wire, copper, and more rarely tin, is all obtained from Europeans. It is then fashioned by the men into such ornaments as armbands, rings, and earrings, which are often decorated with incised rows of dots or lines of zigzag, chevron or fishbone pattern.[2]

Division of Labour

462 In these industrial occupations, as well as in the other economic activities, there appears to be no fixed division of labour, save as between the two sexes, and most of the work is for purely domestic purposes. The husband supervises the herding and pasturing of the cattle and the movements of the family from place to place, although where a number of families live together both activities may be regulated by the men in common. The men also hunt, here again either singly or more often in company. They do all the work in wood and metal, make their own powder-horns and pipes, etc. The women complete the huts, after the men have erected the framework, milk the cattle, seek edible roots and berries in the veld, prepare the food, see to water and firewood, and look after the huts. They also make the reed mats for the huts, were formerly the potters, grind *buchu* and mineral powder, and so on. The preparation of skins, finally, is the work of both men and women; the former also make the skin bags, thongs, and lashes, while the latter cut and sew most of the clothing, karosses, and skins for the floor.

[1] Op. cit., 57.
[2] Schinz, op. cit., 248–51.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

293 tied to it (called *zou* in their language). They use this instead of a handkerchief to wipe the dust and sand out of their nose and eyes, and to keep off the flies of which [411] that land is marvellously full. In the other hand they carry a crude assegai.

415 The women never go out without having on the back 412 a rectangular skin bag, at the bottom of which a bunch of tassels hangs down at each end. It is always filled with various small trinkets and trifles. Sometimes they also carry a child as well, to the great hindrance of their movements.

Weapons.

411 The weapons of these people consist in bows and arrows, and darts or crude assegais[1]). The latter are sticks three, four and five feet long, covered at one end with a broad but [328] sharp-pointed iron head, which they are able themselves to forge and shape. They handle and throw these rather well. Usually when they go out they have in the one hand an assegai of this sort, and in the other a small stick to which is attached a cat's tail, as has just been stated. Firearms they do not as yet use.

Food.

262 As far as their food is concerned, they eat little by way of 25 vegetables, except for certain species of bulbs, as big as ground nuts. This is their daily provender, which the women go every day to dig from the rivers and other places and then eat cooked or roasted, according to taste. They slaughter no cattle for food, except those which owing to sickness, old age or lameness are unable to follow the herd; nor any sheep, except when two people get married. Like other savages, they do not know how to prepare or dress their food[2]), but fall on the dead beast like dogs, eating it

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[177] [1]) Malingard, in a careful historical study, decides that the Hottentots did not originally know the bow and arrow, but borrowed these weapons from their Bushman neighbours, probably at a time subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa (*South African Journal of Science*, XXIX, 713 f., 721.) It must be remembered that when Dapper wrote no clear distinction was made at the Cape between Bushmen and Hottentots, who were regarded as people of the same race and culture.

[251] [2]) Dapper scarcely does the Hottentots justice. The description he gives may be true of the poverty-stricken and wretched beachcombing Hottentots, but the others not only cooked, roasted or baked their food in various different ways, but also, when plenty of meat was available, would cut it into thin strips, which were salted and dried in the air, and could then be preserved for a considerable time, a practice from which the Boer method of making "biltong" is probably derived. (See Schapera, *op. cit.*, 228).

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

raw, and seldom cooked, with entrails and guts as well, first however, pressing out the excrement backwards or squeezing it out with the teeth.

When they find no dead animals, they look along the shore for dead fish, and for limpets, periwinkles and oysters. They also delight in the flesh of sea-dogs or seals, which they kill at night with sticks when these beasts come by thousands to the beach and bleat like calves. The meat they consume raw, or roasted in the fire half done and unwashed. They are likewise no strangers to the blubber of whales and other sea monsters which are now and then washed up on shore. It has happened that they scooped out by handfuls, and gulped down like that, the sun-dried blubber of a whale stranded in the Salt River, also cutting out pieces which they buried under the sand to eat later[1]). At times they tear pieces with their teeth out of their hard sheepskin or sealskin cloaks, and eat these only slightly roasted on coals. The Beachrangers, or Hottentots living along the shore at the Cape, come to the ships of the Dutch, and betake themselves at once to the kitchen, where, if they can, they remove whole handfuls of the fat floating on top of the meat kettle, and toss it into their mouths without bread. They are very fond of our bread, for which they willingly exchange cattle. The Saldanhars or Kochoquas and other neighbouring Hottentots live in the dry summer time on their cattle, but in the winter on certain roots growing in the ground during the rainy season. The honey which collects on the bushes they eat with wax and all. *Their adult people also usually feed on cabbage, mallow and* mustard leaves, cooked with a little stamped blubber.

They drink water or the milk of their cattle, but also hanker very greedily after brandy and Spanish wine, as well as tobacco; although they become mad and drunk from only a little, when they create a tremendous tumult of shouting and babbling.

Industry.

They trouble themselves with hardly any handicrafts or industries, other than preparing rushes from which to make mats for covering their huts, and herding their cattle and sheep. By watching our countrymen, however, they have learned to forge for themselves the points of their darts and assegais from bits of old iron, which they find thrown away by us here and there.[2]) They use nothing more than one stone as an anvil, and another as a hammer, and make the iron malleable with charcoal.

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[1]) The incident is referred to in van Riebeeck's Dagverhaal, March 1-6, 1654.

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Cape Hottentot

Beschrijving.

De *Goringhaikonas* of Waltermans, die dicht aen de kaep woonen, ernaren sich met vischt te vangen, (naerdien sy geen vee gelijk d'anderen hebben,) die sy uit armoede aen d'inmen voor broot en tabak verhandelen. Al de meeste anderen hebben geen kennis van vischt te vangen, noch eenige vaertuigh om de see te gebruiken; maer al hun reisen, te lande, te voet geschiet, wanneer sy van plaets willen verwisselen, of hun mede-makkers besoeken. In stede van peerden hebben sy groote ossen, daer op sy hunne omsingh en goederen van d'eene plaets tot d'andere doen vervoeren, en leiden en besturen dezelve door middel van een hout, door de neus gedaen, als met een toom.

De *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars* ernaren sich alle met de vee-hoedery, en hebben over de hondert duisent beesten, alle even schoon, en wel eens soo veel schagen, niet met wol, maer met langachtigh gekleurt hair. De kleine en groote *Karichuriquas* en *Hoesoas* ernaren sich mede, gelijk hunne geburr-volken, de *Kochoquas* of *Saldanhars*, met seer schoon en meenighvuldigh vee, hun eenighste hope en vertrouwen; want deze volken hebben in den drogen sumer-tijt niet anders, dan van hun vee te leven; maer 's winters, gelijk gesaid is, in den regentijdt, groeien daer sekre wortelijes in d'aerde, hun gewoonelijke spijse. Geen onder al de Hottentots saien of planten, dan alleen de *Hoesoquas*, die sich met het planten van den wortel dacha ernaren.

Velen, inmiddelst de *Goringhaiquas*, of Kaep-mans, [illegible] geschiet; wanneer sy by nacht eenigh wilt gedierte vernemen, 't sy olifanten, elanden, reinosters, leeuwen, tigers, buffels of peerden, dan springen alle weerbare mannen uit, en maken luitruchtigh een groot geschreeu en gejuich, waer door het dier uit vreese wijkt; maer soo by dagen eenigh verscheurend wilt-gedierte verschijnt, dan springht al uit wat wapenen kan voeren, wel ten getale van twee of drie hondert, elk versien met twee of drie aengalen, en vervoegen sich alle in 't ronde, om het gedierte, met schutskelijk te roepen en schreeuwen, soo lange tot dat het wilt sich uit de ruichte op de vlughi begeeft: als dan past ieder wat te raken, om niet gequetst of verdelt te worden, gelijk soks lyweljaen wel geberurt, en het wilt te treffen. In

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325 [17]) Wagenaar, in the memorandum left for the information of his successor, says in this connection: "To sell them this square iron iron, as the Cochoquas would have recently wished, is by no means advisable, as they know how to beat it into pickpoints, or sharp points for their arrows and assegais, and to harden it very tolerably; so, that, should they come again to ask for this iron,

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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SUBSISTENCE.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen close to the Cape do not have cattle like the rest, and accordingly live by catching fish, which through poverty they trade to our countrymen for bread and tobacco. Most of the others do not know how to fish, nor have they any vessels to use on the sea. Similarly all their journeys by land take place on foot when they wish to change their camp or visit their friends. Instead of horses they have big oxen, on which they transport their shelters and goods from one place to another. They lead and guide the oxen by means of a small stick passed through the nose like a bridle.[74]) 226 439 501 481 492

The Kochoquas or Saldanhars all maintain themselves by animal husbandry. They have over a hundred thousand horned cattle, all fine beasts, and about as many sheep again, which instead of wool have longish coloured hair. The Little and Great Karichuriquas and Hosaas, like their neighbours the Kochoquas, live on an abundance of fine cattle. This is their one hope and trust, for all these people have nothing else than their cattle on which to live in the dry summer time; but in the winter, which as already mentioned is also the rainy season, certain little roots, their usual food, grow in the ground. None of all the Hottentots cultivate the soil, save only the Heusaquas, who support themselves by planting the root dacha.[1] 231

Many of the Hottentots, especially the Goringhaiquas or Capemen, hunt as a means of livelihood. Hunting among them is conducted as follows: whenever at night they hear any wild animal, be it elephant, eland, rhinoceros, leopard, buck or horse, then all the able-bodied men rush out, shouting or clamouring loudly, so that the animal retreats out of fear. But if any beast of prey appears in the daytime, then all who can bear arms, even as many as two or three hundred, each armed with a couple of assegais, rush out shouting and screaming violently, and proceed to surround the animal. They keep this up until it attempts to flee back out of the undergrowth, when everyone must 224

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you should, upon one pretence or another, decline supplying it." (Sparrman, Account, 281.) 325

[74]) Even within quite recent times young oxen were trained by the Hottentots to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen were used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with a few household utensils, bound on securely with riems. The riding-oxen were generally guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit (Schapera, op. cit., 197).

1 [The author is mistaken; see note 53, p. 40, col. 116. — Ed.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

CHAP. XXV.

Arts and Crafts.

You might as well look for jewels in a sty as for arts in this degraded people. Since however they wear skins sewn together with the needle, they cannot be absolutely said to be without arts and crafts. Their needles are of iron (for they have mines and, as I guess, very rich ones) or of ivory, and fur thread they use the sinews of animals. They shave their hair skilfully with sharp razors, whence it follows that they are acquainted not only with the tailor's and the barber's craft, but also with that of the smith.

Hence they are provoked to a certain flattering conceit of themselves, although in truth they are rude creatures with no tincture of any arts except the humblest. Thus one of their chiefs gazing at a watch, and instructed by the owner in the use of it, said: "Why should not the Hottentots also make ones as good?" Some manufacture and play a musical instrument with the appearance and function of a flute [44]). Some pretend to the use of magic and would have it that they can catch fish by playing on the flute [45]).

CHAP. XXVI.

Their medical practices.

It is claimed that the human race has learned many methods of healing from the brute creation: for instance, emetics from dogs; from the ibis, an Egyptian bird, the use of the clyster; from the hippopotamus, common in these parts, phlebotomy; from goats, the excellence of dittany; from swallows that of chelidony; from snakes of fennel; from toads of the narrow-leaved plantain; from the weasel of rue; from the stork of wild marjoram; from bears of ivy; from stags of the artichoke; for it is true that nature is the teacher of all these. Why, then, should we be surprised if these peoples, brutish though they be, have some method of healing? Like Podalirius and Machaon in the Trojan war who did not so much apply their remedies in pestilence or in every sort of disease, but were accustomed especially to treat wounds, as Celsus says. Thus suction and anointing are the chief, nay, the only remedies of the Hottentots, for all they fear is

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[44]) This may possibly refer to the reed pipes of the Hottentots, already described by Dapper. See above, p. 31.

[45]) I can find no confirmation for this statement.

[See Dapper, this File, cat. 116, p 35, - Analyst]

(pot ǂē-s, to boil, to cook ǂē). Food, especially meat, is always well boiled, and not underdone, as our gourmands prefer it.

We must also conclude that the process of melting ore was known to the Khoikhoi before their general separation; for ǂarib is the word for iron or any other metal used by all clans and tribes, and is derived from ǂā, to separate (intransitive and transitive), German *ausscheiden*. They also manufactured knives, spears (gôaga), and metal rings both of copper and iron, as ornaments for arms and legs. (Rings ǂgaunga, literally meaning the ties, from ǂgai to bind.) From the invention of iron tools, such as knives and axes and spears, it was only a short step to the fabrication (ǂhoe-χoa-ǂna) of wooden vessels in which they could keep their milk and fat.

But iron and copper tools were, on account of the difficulty of manufacturing them, as yet too valuable; consequently the stone implements of the more primitive age were not entirely abandoned. That a Stone Age must have existed among the Hottentots is proved by the fact that the priest (ǂgai-aob) up to this day never uses an iron knife, but always a splint of a sharp quartz, when he has to perform the rite of making a boy a man, or if he has to make an operation, or if a sheep or cow is slaughtered as an offering to the deceased or to the Supreme Being.

Oxen were broken in for the purpose of carrying and riding (ǂgabi), and men and women both were experts in the art of riding, much unlike the Kafir, who will ride while his wife and children have to trot alongside of him. Van Riebeeke's journal in the Cape Archives of 1658 speaks of *peak-oxen*; and also Vasco da Gama, when he came to Mosselbay, saw * women riding on oxen down to the Bay to see the *new comer* (the ship of da Gama).

It speaks well for the refined taste of the ancient Khoikhoi, that they were fond of perfumes (ǂā-b or bu χu).

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* "Into inside on slow-paced oxen ride behind."—Camoens, *The Lusiad*, Book V.